

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 ERDA-05 AF-10 ARA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01

PRS-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 NRC-05 /139 W

-----033043 011826Z /46

R 011743Z AUG 77

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5189

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 07396

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, PFOR, NATO, UN

SUBJECT: SSOD: JULY 29 POLADS CONSULTATIONS WITH EXPERTS

REF: (A) NATO 6963 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 177654

SUMMARY: AT JULY 29 MEETING ON UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD), EXPERTS AGREED OUTCOME OF SECOND PREPCOM WAS GENERALLY SATISFACTORY; NON-ALIGNED DOMINATED SESSION, BUT WERE REASONABLY MODERATE, AND WEST CAME OUT OF SESSION WITH STRONG POSITIVE IMAGE IN CONTRAST TO SOVIETS. EXPERTS ALSO AGREED MEXICAN AND SRI LANKAN PAPERS CIRCULATED AT SECOND PREPCOM WERE MODERATE, BUT LACKED BALANCE IN STRESSING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF NUCLEAR POWERS WHILE IGNORING CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE NON-ALIGNED. EXPERTS FELT WEST SHOULD BEGIN WORK ON A GENERAL PAPER OUTLINING WESTERN VIEWS, IN NEW YORK PERHAPS, PRIOR TO AUGUST 28, BUT SHOULD WAIT TO SEE IF THE NEED FOR A MORE FORMAL DECLARATION DEVELOPS OUT OF THIRD PREPCOM. CANADIAN, ITALIAN AND UK REPS TABLED PAPERS FOR POSSIBLE CONSIDERATION IN NEW YORK

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NEXT MONTH (SEPTELS). US REP DREW FULLY ON REF B.  
END SUMMARY.

1. NATO POLITICAL COMMITTEE REINFORCED BY EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS AND/OR ALLIED DELEGATIONS TO CCD, MET JULY 29 TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON PREPARATIONS FOR FORTHCOMING UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD). MEETING FOLLOWED UK-PROPOSED AGENDA (REF A), COVERING (A)

LESSONS OF SECOND PREPCOM AND NON-ALIGNED TACTICS,  
(B) SRI LANKAN AND MEXICAN PAPERS, AND (C) WESTERN  
APPROACH TO THIRD PREPCOM.

#### OUTCOME OF SECOND PREPCOM

2. UK FCO EXPERT (BURNS) SAID NON-ALIGNED CLEARLY DOMINATED SECOND PREPCOM, AND WOULD LIKELY TRY TO CONTINUE TO DOMINATE SSOD PREPARATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE NOTED REPORTS THAT A GROUP OF ELEVEN NON-ALIGNED, (INCLUDING YUGOSLAVIA, EGYPT, MEXICO) ARE TO DRAFT FURTHER SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, EXPANDING ON SRI LANKA DOCUMENT, WHICH WILL BE TABLED IN FUTURE. UK BELIEVES WEST CAME OUT OF SECOND PREPCOM WITH POSITIVE IMAGE IN THE EYES OF NON-ALIGNED, AND HOPES WEST WILL CONTINUE TO NURTURE THAT IMAGE. IN CONTRAST, SOVIETS EMERGED WITH GENERALLY A NEGATIVE IMAGE. UK EXPERT THINKS SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO BE NEGATIVE, PUSHING WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC) AND OTHER P7 EASTERN PROJECTS, UNTIL AFTER WEST AND NON-ALIGNED HAVE DEVELOPED A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE PROGRAM. THE SOVIETS MAY THEN TRY TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE COMPROMISE WITH NON-ALIGNED IN ATTEMPT TO MOVE THEM AWAY FROM WESTERN POSITIONS.

3. US REP DREW ON REF B. FRG FOREIGN MINISTRY EXPERT (ANDRAE) SAID BONN THOUGHT OUTCOME OF SECOND PREPCOM CONFIDENTIAL

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WAS GOOD.

4. NORWEGIAN EXPERT (VAERNOE) UNDERSTOOD DRAFTING GROUP OF ELEVEN NON-ALIGNED IS SPLIT ON WHEN TO TABLE NEW PAPERS THEY ARE DEVELOPING, WHETHER DURING THIRD PREPCOM OR AFTER 32ND UNGA. HE UNDERSTOOD SOVIETS TOLD RECENT EASTERN EUROPEAN CAUCUS IN NEW YORK THEY ARE AGAINST TABLING ANY EASTERN PAPERS UNTIL AFTER 32ND UNGA. HE SUGGESTED WEST SHOULD NOT TABLE ITS FINAL POSITION UNLESS EAST ALSO PUTS ITS FINAL POSITION ON RECORD.

5. CANADIAN CCD EXPERT (SIMARD) AGREED NON-ALIGNED SEEMED MODERATE AT SECOND PREPCOM, BUT WONDERED WHETHER WEST SHOULD COUNT ON CONTINUING MODERATION AS A SURE THING. HE NOTED THAT ALL WEST ACCOMPLISHED DURING SECOND PREPCOM WAS TO MAKE MINOR MODIFICATIONS TO NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS PAPERS. FOR THIS REASON, HE DISAGREED WITH NORWEGIAN SUGGESTION TO DELAY TABLING WESTERN POSITION; ADOPTING SUCH A TACTIC WOULD LEAVE THE WEST IN A CONTINUING SUBORDINATE ROLE.

NON-ALIGNED PAPERS

6. UK REP (JANVRIN) REFERRED TO UK ANALYSIS OF SRI LANKA DOCUMENT HE HAD CIRCULATED EARLIER (SEPTTEL). NETHERLANDS EXPERT (BRUYNS) SAID HE COULD AGREE WITH THE POINTS OF CRITICISM IN THE UK PAPER, BUT BELIEVED THE TONE TO BE TOO CONFRONTATIONAL.

7. BELGIAN EXPERT (CHANPIENOIS) ALSO AGREED WITH UK ANALYSIS. BOTH NON-ALIGNED PAPERS ASCRIBE FAILURES IN

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R 011743Z AUG 77  
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DISARMAMENT ENTIRELY TO INSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES AND IGNORE OTHER PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. BOTH PAPERS ALSO UNDULY EMPHASIZE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR POWERS, WHILE NOT RECOGNIZING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF IMPORTANT CONVENTIONAL POWERS, SOME OF WHICH ARE NON-ALIGNED.

8. CANADIAN EXPERT WAS NOT IMPRESSED WITH MEXICAN DOCUMENT WHICH SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN DRAFTED HASTILY. BOTH PAPERS INDICATED MODERATION OF SOME TRADITIONAL NON-ALIGNED VIEWS, AND HE HOPED WEST COULD INCORPORATE ACCEPTABLE POINTS INTO PAPERS IT MIGHT PRODUCE.

FUTURE WESTERN TACTICS

9. UK EXPERT TABLED DRAFT PAPER THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED FOR USE BY WEST DURING THIRD PREPCOM (SEPTTEL). PAPER WAS PREPARED BY FCO RESEARCH UNIT AND CIRCULATED AT

RECENT MEETING OF EC DISARMAMENT EXPERTS. PAPER WAS  
INTENDED ONLY TO FOCUS ON IDEAS WEST MIGHT DEVELOP IN  
FORMAL OR INFORMAL DOCUMENT FOR USE DURING PREPCOM. HE  
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HOPED ALLIED REPS COULD MEET SOON TO DISCUSS THE IDEA  
FURTHER, EITHER AT NATO OR IN NEW YORK.

10. CANADIAN EXPERT ALSO TABLED PAPER DRAFTED BY INFORMAL  
GROUP OF CCD REPS IN GENEVA (SEPTTEL) INTENDED TO SERVE  
ON SAME BASIS AS UK PAPER. ITALIAN REP (JANUZZI)  
TABLED AN INFORMAL PAPER PREPARED IN ROME IN PREPARATION  
FOR EC DISARMAMENT EXPERTS SESSION (SEPTTEL). HE DID NOT  
WISH TO HAVE POLADS CONSIDER PAPER FORMALLY, BUT HOPED  
IT MIGHT BE USEFUL.

11. NORWEGIAN EXPERT DOUBTED THE FEASIBILITY OF ATTEMPTING  
TO DRAFT ANY FORMAL DECLARATION OF WESTERN PRINCIPLES  
TO BE TABLED DURING THIRD PREPCOM, BUT AGREED WITH UK ON  
THE NEED FOR A GENERAL PAPER ON WESTERN VIEWS, PERHAPS  
EVEN AN ANNOTATED LIST OF ARGUMENTS THAT WESTERN  
DELEGATIONS COULD SHARE. HE THOUGHT WORK SHOULD START  
SOON ON SUCH A GENERAL PAPER, POSSIBLY THE WEEK  
PRIOR TO AUGUST 28. ANY GENERAL PAPER COULD THEN BE  
REFINED IN LIGHT OF THE OUTCOME OF THE THIRD PREPCOM.

12. NETHERLANDS EXPERT ALSO AGREED ON THE NEED FOR A  
GENERAL PAPER, BUT SAW NEED TO KEEP WESTERN OPTIONS ON  
FINAL DECLARATION OPEN UNTIL AFTER AUGUST SESSION IN  
NEW YORK. WESTERN PAPER SHOULD NOT PARROT NON-ALIGNED  
PAPERS, BUT SHOULD RATHER LIST PRELIMINARY WESTERN  
CONCLUSIONS, CONCENTRATING ON THE POINTS THAT SHOULD HAVE  
PRIORITY IN SSOD CONSIDERATIONS. UK EXPERT THOUGHT  
NETHERLANDS SUGGESTION WOULD AVOID CONFRONTATION AND HE  
HOPED DRAFTERS OF WESTERN PAPER WOULD INCLUDE AS MUCH  
NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE AS POSSIBLE.

13. FRG EXPERT AGREED WITH IDEA OF GENERAL PAPER, BUT  
HOPED THIS WOULD NOT EXCLUDE PARALLEL WORK ON A DRAFT  
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FINAL DECLARATION BY WEST. HE BELIEVED SUCH A WESTERN  
DECLARATION MIGHT WELL BE NECESSARY JUST BEFORE SSOD  
OPENS NEXT YEAR. FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY EXPERT (CUNY)  
THOUGHT IT PREMATURE TO DISCUSS CIRCULATING ANY WESTERN  
DECLARATIONS.

OTHER PROBLEMS

14. FRG EXPERT SAID SOVIETS MAY REQUEST TWO MORE EASTERN EUROPEAN SEATS IN NEXT PREPCOM. THIS WOULD ENTAIL EXPANSION OF PREPCOM MEMBERSHIP WHICH BONN DOES NOT FAVOR, BUT WHICH SEEMS UNAVOIDABLE. FRENCH EXPERT SAID HIS AUTHORITIES FAVOR OPEN-ENDED PREPCOM MEMBERSHIP AND WOULD PUSH FOR THAT IF THE EASTERN BLOC SEEKS MORE SEATS. ITALIAN REP SAID ROME ALSO FAVORS OPEN-ENDED PREPCOM MEMBERSHIP, BUT SINCE THIS IS LIKELY TO BE UNACCEPTABLE TO NON-ALIGNED, ROME WOULD WANT AS A MINIMUM TO ENSURE THAT ANY EASTERN BLOC EXPANSION IS MATCHED BY AN EQUAL INCREASE IN WESTERN SEATS. BELGIAN, FRG AND UK REPS AGREED WITH ITALIAN APPROACH.

15. CANADIAN REP NOTED THAT SOVIETS APPARENTLY WANT AN SSOD OF ONLY TWO WEEKS DURATION, WHILE MEXICANS SEEM TO FAVOR SIX WEEKS. UK EXPERT THOUGHT ONE MONTH WOULD BE ABOUT RIGHT FOR SSOD SINCE ALL DELEGATIONS WILL WANT TO SPEAK AT LEAST ONCE FOR THE RECORD, WHICH WILL REQUIRE AT LEAST THREE WEEKS. ONE WEEK TO WRAP UP THE SSOD WOULD THEN SEEM APPROPRIATE. GERMAN AND ITALIAN REPS SHARED UK VIEWS. PEREZ

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## Message Attributes

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